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ABSTRACT

The University of Massachusetts McCormack Institute Poll of attitudes and opinions related to the political, economic, and social life of Massachusetts was expanded in 1998 to include a larger sample of minority respondents than in previous years. In 1998, the sample included 127 African Americans, 114 Asian Americans, 107 Latinos, and 381 Whites. The rapidly changing racial and ethnic diversity of Massachusetts was regarded as a "good thing" by a large proportion of all groups. Minority group members were less likely than Whites to think that things were getting better for minorities, and they were more likely to agree that there was a long way to go before minorities (specifically African Americans) have the same chance in life White people have. Thirty-three percent of African Americans, thirty-one percent of Latinos, and twenty-five percent of Asian Americans reported that they had a personal experience with discrimination during the last 3 months. African Americans and Latinos considered crime the most important issue, with schools/education the second most important social issue. Asian Americans thought schools were the most important issue, as did Whites. A majority of all groups indicated support for affirmative action. Respondents differed dramatically when asked whether schools should teach only in English or in some cases in a language other than English. Sixty-one percent of Whites supported English only, but eighty-one percent of Latinos favored instruction in other languages as well. Among Asian Americans, responses were split fairly evenly. There was general agreement among all groups that standardized tests for high school graduates are desirable. Almost half of all Whites expressed a great deal of confidence in the public schools, but responses of other groups were less favorable. Other questions involved the role of government, confidence in institutions, political participation and citizenship, and partisan identification and ideology. An appendix contains the poll questionnaire. (Contains 17 graphs.) (SLD)

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ED 439 204

An Occasional Paper

CONFLICT AND CONVERGENCE

Race, Public Opinion and Political Behavior in Massachusetts

The University of Massachusetts McCormack Institute Poll

by

Paul Watanabe &
Carol Hardy-Fanta

Institute *for*
Asian
American
Studies

August 1998

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CONFLICT AND CONVERGENCE: RACE, PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN MASSACHUSETTS

The University of Massachusetts McCormack Institute Poll

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John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs

An Occasional Paper

INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES
University of Massachusetts Boston

August 1998

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CONFLICT AND CONVERGENCE: RACE, PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN MASSACHUSETTS

The University of Massachusetts McCormack Institute Poll

Sponsored by

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John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs
University of Massachusetts Boston

Lou DiNatale, Poll Director
Robert Woodbury, Director, McCormack Institute

In collaboration with

William Monroe Trotter Institute, University of Massachusetts Boston
Institute for Asian American Studies, University of Massachusetts Boston
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CONFLICT AND CONVERGENCE: RACE, PUBLIC OPINION & POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN MASSACHUSETTS

The University of Massachusetts McCormack Institute Poll

PAUL WATANABE
CAROL HARDY-FANTA

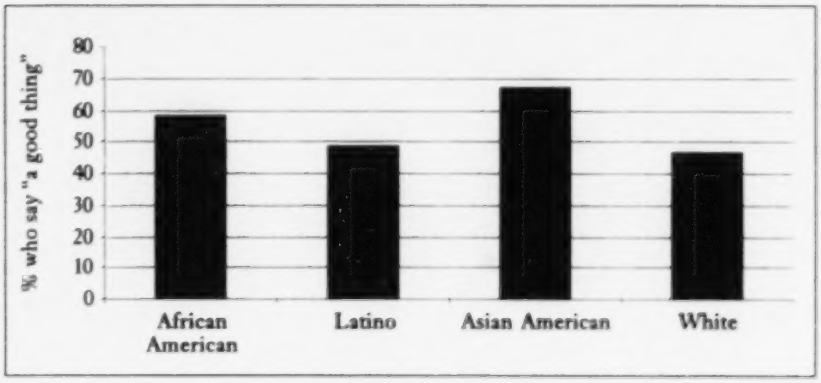
About the Poll

Under the auspices of the John W. McCormack Institute of Public Affairs and the President's Office, the University of Massachusetts has regularly conducted polls to measure attitudes and behavior related to the political, economic, and social life of the Commonwealth. Data from these polls have offered important and regular insights about the views of Massachusetts' residents. One of the drawbacks of these polls and most others conducted by or for news media outlets, academicians, politicians, and candidates is that they have not been able to generate significantly large samples of non-whites (African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos) to assess with any depth their opinions and behavior. Typically, for example, a poll with a randomly selected sample of 450-500 respondents includes 50 to 60 nonwhites. In order to offer a more detailed look at the attitudes and behavior of these residents, the UMass McCormack Institute Poll was expanded to include over 300 non-whites with over 100 African Americans (N=127), Asian Americans (N=114), and Latinos (N=107) as well as whites (N=381). The poll, which was conducted April 13-23, 1998 was designed and analyzed in collaboration with the Institute for Asian American Studies, the Mauricio Gastón Institute, and the William Monroe Trotter Institute all at the University of Massachusetts Boston. The figures in the tables contained in this report are percentages. Totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity: A Good Thing?

The rapidly changing racial and ethnic diversity of Massachusetts was regarded as a "good thing" by large proportions of all groups (67% Asian Americans, 58% African Americans, 49% Latinos, 47% whites). Smaller percentages (6% Asian Americans, 12% African Americans, 12% Latinos, 11% whites) characterized the increasing racial and ethnic diversity as a "bad thing."

Racial/Ethnic Diversity: A Good Thing?

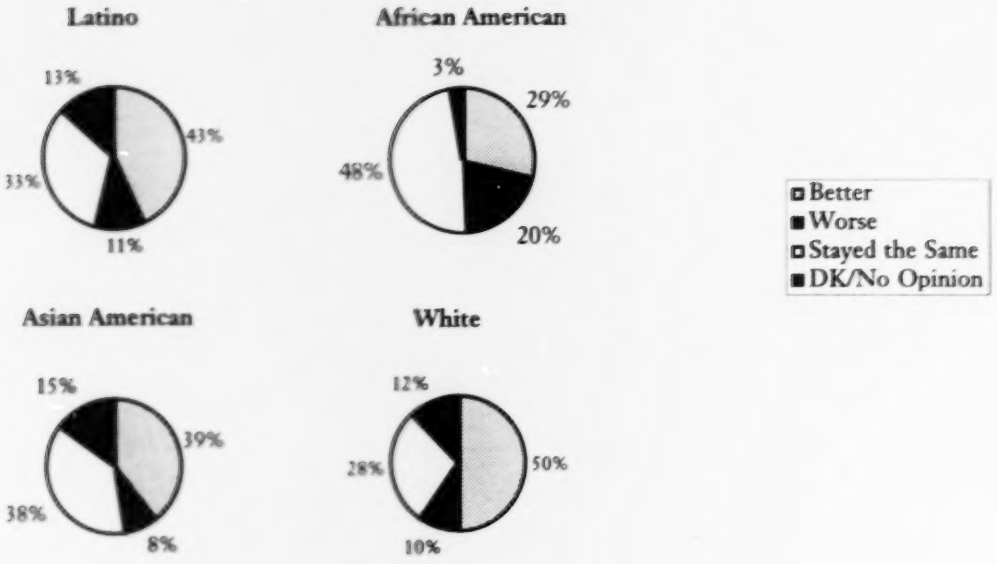


	Good thing	Bad thing	No difference	DK/NS*
African American	58	12	24	6
Latino	49	12	25	14
Asian American	67	6	23	4
White	47	11	35	7

*Don't know/Not sure

Are Conditions for Minority Groups Better or Worse?

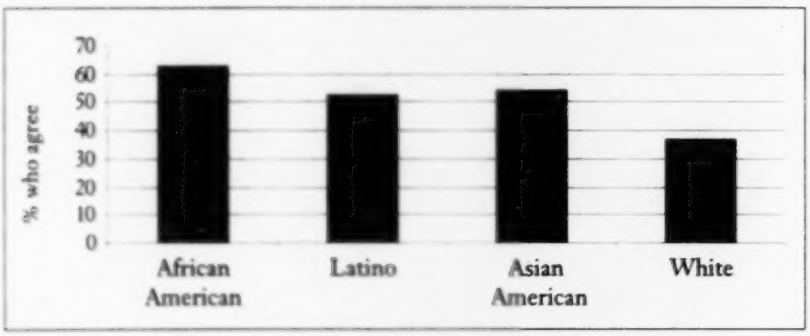
In their assessments of the condition of minority groups over the last five years, there were some significant differences among the racial groups. For example, while 50% of whites said that conditions for minority groups had "gotten better," fewer non-whites agreed with this assessment (29% African Americans, 40% Asian Americans, 43% Latinos). Additionally, over two-thirds of African Americans (68%) and 46% of Asian Americans and 44% of Latinos said that conditions had "stayed the same" or "gotten worse." For whites, 38% felt that conditions had stayed the same or gotten worse.



Assessments of Minority Groups' Chances: A Long Way to Go

When asked to agree or disagree with the statement that "African Americans are still a long way from having the same chance in life than white people have," nearly two-thirds of African Americans (63%) and over one-half of Asian Americans (54%) and Latinos (53%) said they agreed with the statement. Over one-third of whites (37%) said they agreed.

African Americans Are Still a Long Way from Having the Same Chance in Life as White People

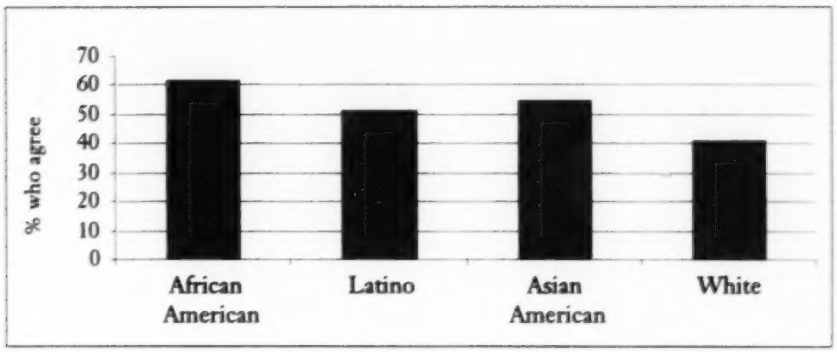


	Agree	Disagree	Neither	DK/Ref/NS*
African American	63	33	2	2
Latino	53	36	5	6
Asian American	54	32	6	9
White	37	55	4	4

*Don't know/Refused/Not sure

A similar pattern could be found in the assessment of Latinos with 62% of African Americans, 55% of Asian Americans, 50% of Latinos, and 41% of whites agreeing that Latinos are still a long way from gaining equality with whites.

Latinos Are Still a Long Way from Having the Same Chance in Life as White People

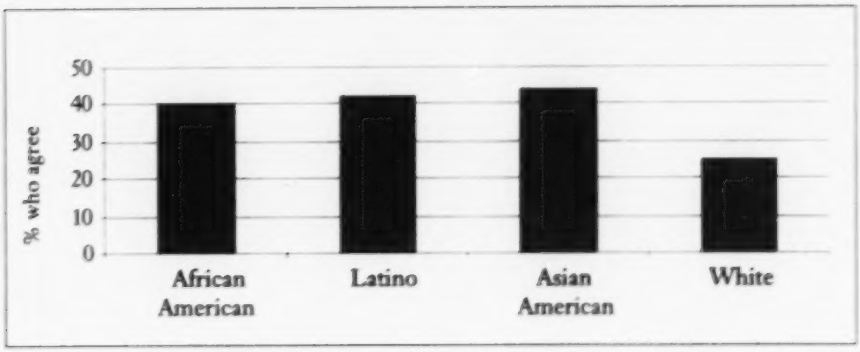


	Agree	Disagree	Neither	DK/Ref/NS*
African American	62	31	2	6
Latino	51	36	5	9
Asian American	55	32	4	10
White	41	48	4	7

*Don't know/Refused/Not sure

In their assessments of Asian Americans, respondents, particularly whites, were less inclined to agree that Asian Americans had a long way to go to have the same chances as whites (40% African Americans, 44% Asian Americans, 42% Latinos, 25% whites).

Asian Americans Are Still a Long Way from Having the Same Chance in Life as White People



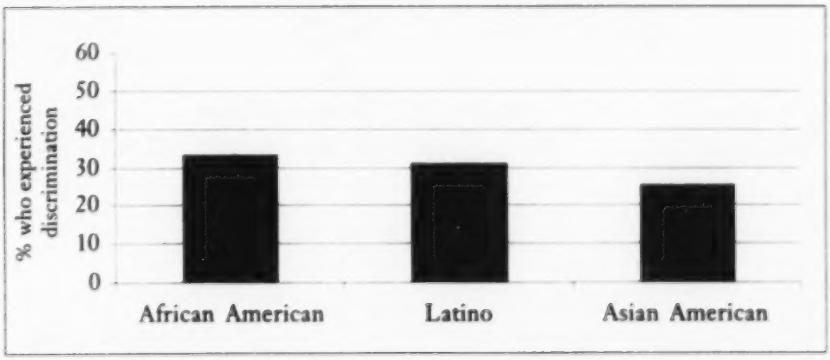
	Agree	Disagree	Neither	DK/Ref/NS*
African American	40	49	3	8
Latino	42	38	6	14
Asian American	44	47	5	4
White	25	62	6	8

*Don't know/Refused/Not sure

Experiences with Discrimination

One-third of African Americans (33%), 31% of Latinos, and one-fourth of Asian Americans (25%) reported that they "had a personal experience of discrimination" during the last three months. Of those who did experience discrimination, well over one-half (60% African Americans, 57% Asian Americans, 52% Latinos) said that discrimination occurred "very" or "fairly often." Discrimination was most often experienced in everyday life followed by on the job or in looking for a job, then in dealing with the police, and finally in housing.

Minority Experience with Discrimination in Past 3 Months



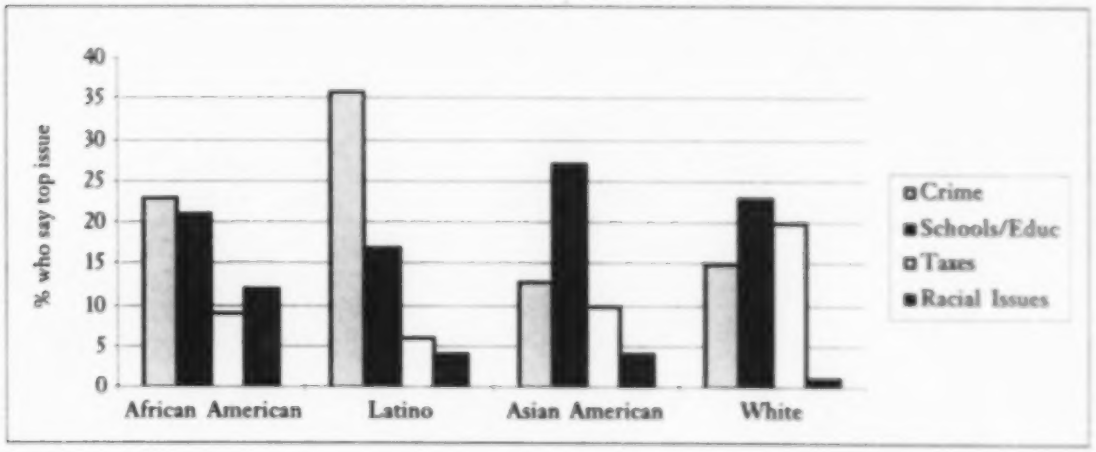
	% Yes	% No	DK/NS*
African American	33	66	1
Latino	31	66	3
Asian American	25	69	6

*Don't Know/Not sure

Top Issues: Does Race/Ethnicity Matter?

For African Americans and Latinos, crime was identified as the most important issue (23% for African Americans, 36% for Latinos) followed by schools/education (21% for African Americans, 17% for Latinos). Asian Americans also identified these issues as important with schools/education mentioned most often (27%) followed by crime (13%). White respondents identified schools/education as the most important problem (23%) with taxes receiving the second highest number of mentions (20%). While race relations received the third highest number of mentions (12%) by African American respondents, fewer than one percent (.5%) of whites identified race relations as the most important issue.

Top Issues, by Race

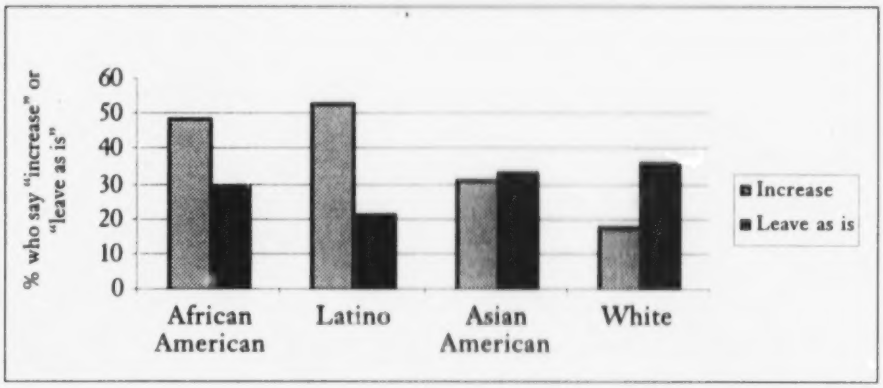


	African American	Latino	Asian American	White
Crime	23	36	13	15
Schools/Educ	21	17	27	23
Taxes	9	6	10	20
Racial Issues	12	4	4	1

Affirmative Action

In response to a question about what the government should do about affirmative action, a majority of all groups indicated support of affirmative action. Over half (54%) of whites, and 64% of Asian Americans, 74% of Latinos and 79% of African Americans said that affirmative action should be increased or left as is. Not surprisingly, support for the increase of these programs was particularly strong among non-whites. Approximately one-half of Latino (53%) and African American (49%) respondents said that these programs should be increased. Of the Asian Americans, 31% called for increases and 33% said that affirmative action should be left as is. Support for a decrease in affirmative action programs was highest among whites (28%). Considerably smaller proportions of non-whites (6% Latinos, 11% African Americans, 17% Asian Americans) supported decreasing affirmative action.

Support for Affirmative Action

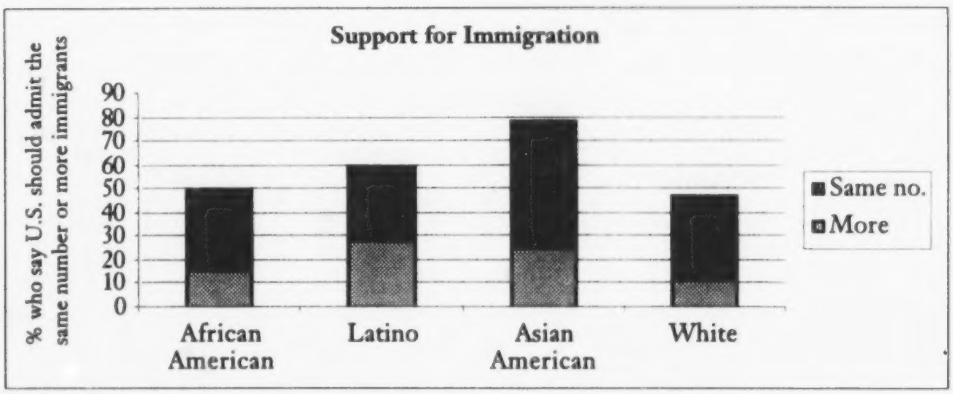


	Increase	Leave as is	Decrease	NO/DK/NS*
African American	49	30	11	10
Latino	53	21	6	21
Asian American	31	33	17	19
White	18	36	28	18

*No Opinion/Don't Know/Not sure

Immigration

Support for increasing or maintaining immigration levels during the next ten years received particularly strong support from Asian Americans (54% about the same, 25% more). Latinos also indicated strong support (32% about the same, 28% more). African Americans (42%) and whites (48%) were considerably more inclined than Asian Americans (13%) and Latinos (25%) to call for fewer immigrants in the next ten years.



Should the U.S. Admit More Legal Immigrants, Fewer, or the Same Number as in the Past 10 Years?

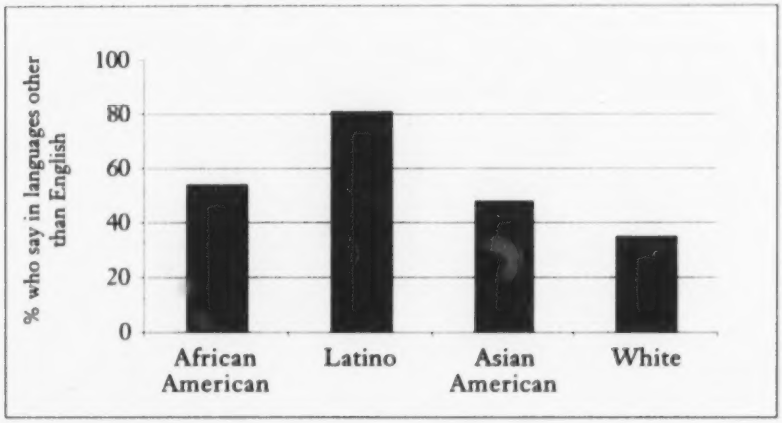
	More	Same	Fewer	DK/NS*
African American	16	34	42	9
Latino	28	32	25	15
Asian American	25	54	13	8
White	12	35	48	5

*Don't Know/Not sure

Bilingual Instruction

When asked whether public schools should teach only in English or in some cases in a language other than English, for example, when a student's first language is not English, respondents differed dramatically. Of whites, for example, 61% said only in English and 35% in other languages as well. On the other hand, only 14% of Latinos said only in English and 81% in other languages. For Asian Americans, another community heavily involved in bilingual instruction, the responses were split fairly evenly - 48% supported instruction in other languages and 46% said instruction should be limited to English. Fifty-four percent of African Americans supported instruction in other languages and 43% indicated that instruction should be limited to English.

Should Public Schools Teach Only in English or in Languages Other than English?



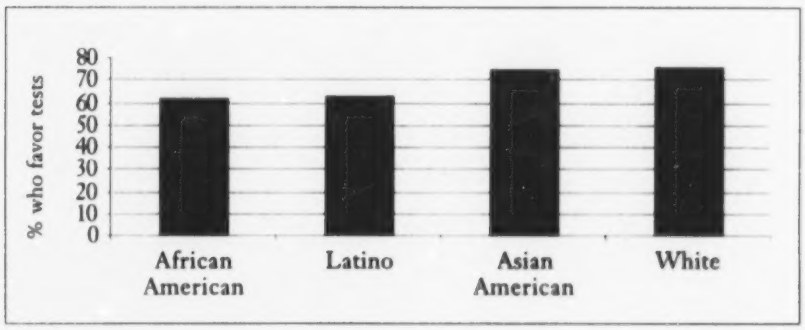
	Languages Other than English	Only in English	DK/NS*
African American	54	43	3
Latino	81	14	5
Asian American	48	46	6
White	35	61	4

*Don't Know/Not sure

Standardized Tests for Graduation

There was general agreement among all groups that standardized tests for high school graduation are desirable. Nearly two-thirds of African Americans (62%) and Latinos (63%) and three-fourths of Asian Americans (75%) and whites (76%) favored these tests.

Support for Standardized Tests for High School Graduation



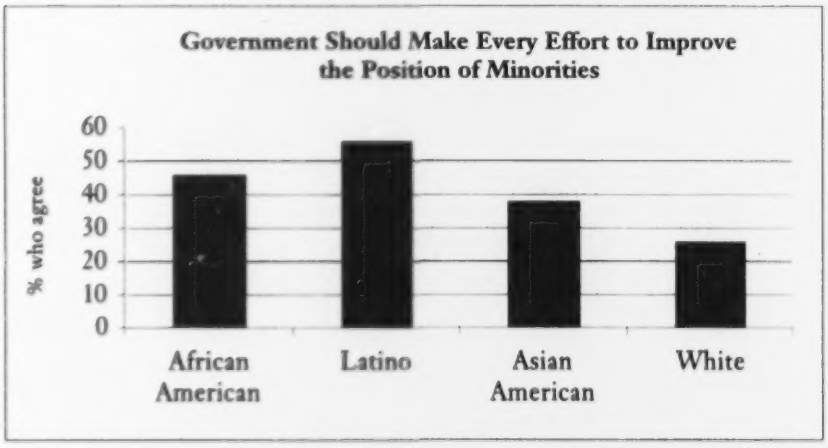
	% Favor	% Oppose	% Depends/DK*
African American	62	21	16
Latino	63	19	19
Asian American	75	15	10
White	76	14	10

*Depends/Don't Know

Gender difference: Latino men were more likely to support the tests (73%) than Latina women (53%). The same was true, to a lesser degree, among Asian American men (80%) and women (67%). There was no gender difference for African Americans or Whites. A possible explanation may lie in their immigrant status.

Role of Government

Non-white respondents (56% Latinos, 48% African Americans, 38% Asian Americans) were much more inclined than whites (26%) to say that government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of minorities. In contrast, 42% of whites compared with 28% of African Americans, 27% of Asian Americans, and 20% of Latinos felt that minorities should instead help themselves.



Should Government Make Every Effort to Improve the Position of Minorities?

	Make effort	Help themselves	IB/DK/NS*
African American	46	28	27
Latino	56	20	23
Asian American	38	27	35
White	26	42	32

*In between/Don't know/Not sure

Confidence in Institutions

When asked to assess their confidence in various institutions - the news media, police, business, public schools, the courts, state government, and local government - respondents indicated both striking differences and similarities along racial lines.

Police: For example, when asked to indicate their confidence in the police in their community, non-whites expressed much less confidence than whites. Over two-thirds of African Americans (68%) said they had "hardly any" or "only some" confidence in the police, for Asian Americans the figure was 57%, and for Latinos 53%. Forty-three percent of whites said that they had "hardly any" or "only some" confidence in the police.

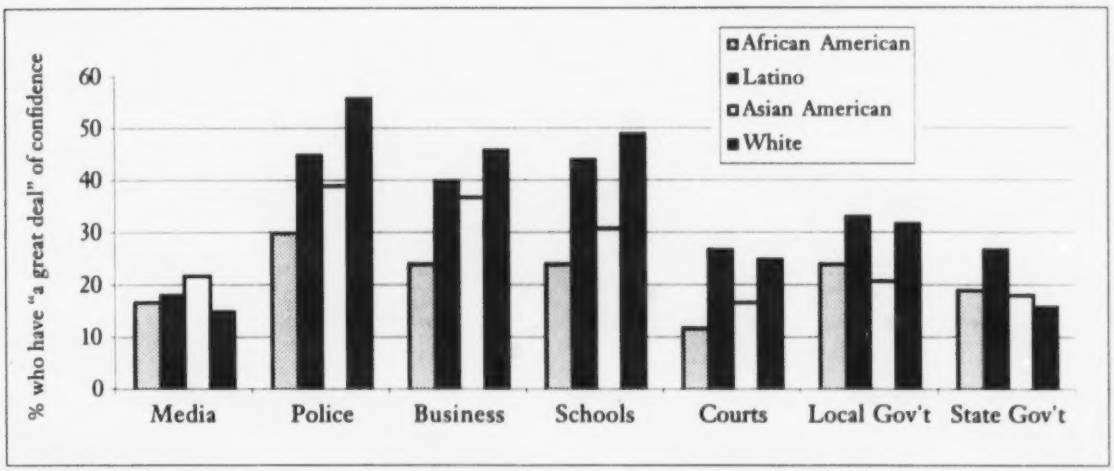
Court system: Respondents across the board indicated little confidence in the court system. Only 25% of whites indicated a great deal of confidence in the court system while just 12% of African Americans expressed a great deal of confidence in the courts.

News media: Lack of confidence in the news media was also widely shared with white respondents having the least confidence. Only 15% of whites, the lowest percentage of any group, said that they had a "great deal" of confidence in the news media. On the other hand, 82% of whites and 81% of African Americans indicated that they had "only some" or "hardly any" confidence in the news media. Large percentages of Latinos (76%) and Asian Americans (75%) also said that they had only some or hardly any confidence.

Business: Nearly half of the white respondents (46%) said that they had a "great deal" of confidence in business which was approximately twice the percentage of African Americans (24%) with the same assessment. The percentages of Latinos (40%) and Asian Americans (37%) expressing a great deal of confidence in business were located between whites and African Americans.

Public schools: The distribution of attitudes toward the public schools were similar to those toward business. Almost half of whites (49%) expressed a "great deal" of confidence in the public schools, which was approximately twice the percentage of African Americans (24%) with a similar view. Once again, Latinos (44%) and Asian Americans (31%) were between whites and African Americans in the percentages of respondents who had a great deal of confidence in the public schools.

Confidence in Institutions

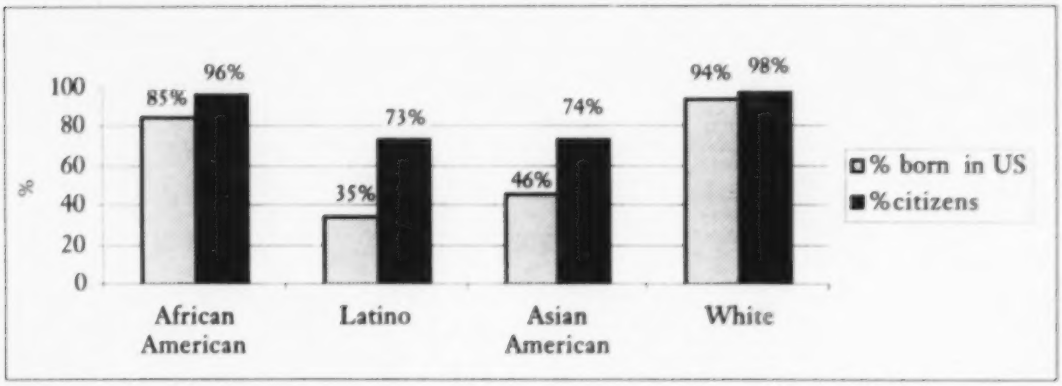


	Media	Police	Business	Schools	Courts	Local Gov't	State Gov't
African American	17	30	24	24	12	24	19
Latino	22	45	40	44	27	33	27
Asian American	18	39	37	31	17	21	18
White	15	56	46	49	25	32	16

Political Participation and Citizenship

Nativity and citizenship by race: While nearly all of the whites (94%) and African Americans (85%) in the sample were born in the United States, a much smaller percentage of Asian Americans (46%) and Latinos (35%) were born in the U.S. Nearly all of the whites (98%) and African Americans (96%) were U.S. citizens compared with 74% of Asian Americans and 73% of Latinos.

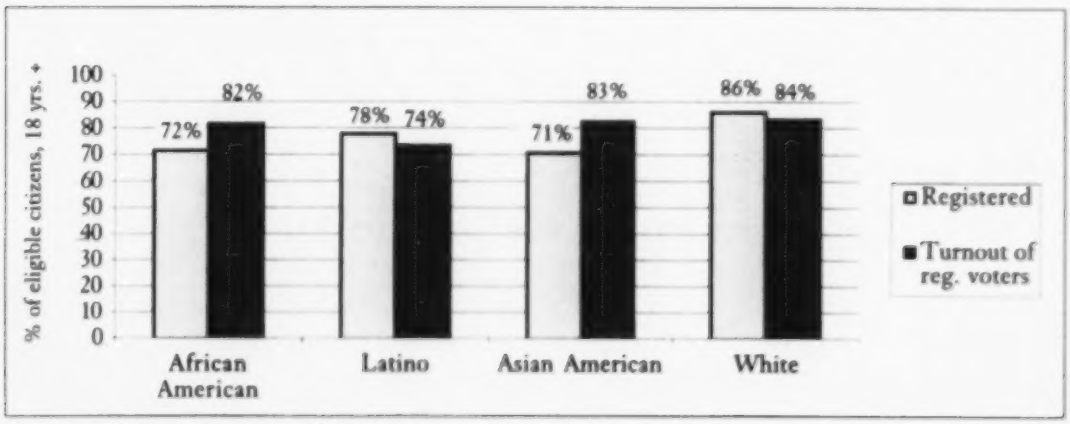
Nativity and Citizenship, by Race



Voter registration and turnout: The voter registration rates for those eligible to vote ranged from 86% of whites to 78% of Latinos to 72% of African Americans to 71% of Asian Americans.

Turnout for eligible voters (those citizens 18 years old and older) in the 1996 election was considerably higher for whites 72% followed by 59% of African Americans, 59% of Asian Americans, and 58% of Latinos. Interestingly, however, the differences in turnout among the races virtually disappear when one examines the turnout of those eligible voters who are registered to vote: 84% whites, 82% African Americans, 83% Asian Americans, and 74% Latinos.

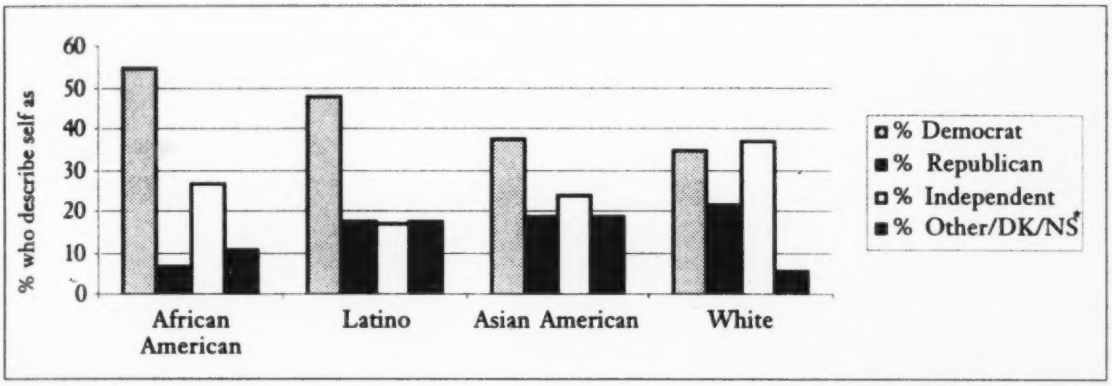
Voter Registration and Turnout



Partisan Identification and Ideology

Partisanship: Those respondents identifying themselves as Democrats or leaning to the Democrats in each of the groups was 55% African Americans, 38% Asian Americans, 48% Latinos, and 35% whites. Republicans or leaning to Republicans - African Americans 7%, Asian Americans 19%, Latinos 18%, and whites 22%. Those identifying themselves as independents were African Americans 27%, Asian Americans 24%, Latinos 17%, and whites 37%.

Partisanship

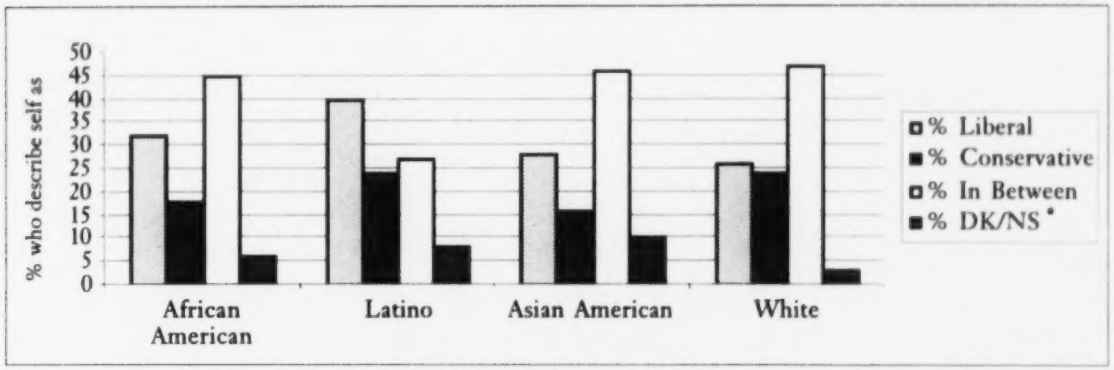


	African American	Latino	Asian American	White
% Democrat	55	48	38	35
% Republican	7	18	19	22
% Independent	27	17	24	37
% Other/DK/NS*	11	18	19	6

*Other/Don't Know/Not sure

Ideology: When asked about their ideology, the largest proportion of each group, with the exception of Latinos described themselves as in between liberal and conservative (African Americans 45%, Asian Americans 46%, whites 47%, Latinos 27%). More Latinos selected liberal (40%) than any other category. Self-described liberals constituted 32% of African Americans, 28% of Asian Americans, and 26% of whites. Conservatives made up 18% of African Americans, 16% of Asian Americans, 24% of Latinos, and 24% of whites.

Ideology



	African American	Latino	Asian American	White
% Liberal	32	40	28	26
% Conservative	18	24	16	24
% In Between	45	27	46	47
% DK/NS*	6	8	10	3

*Don't Know/Not sure

APPENDIX

POLL QUESTIONNAIRE

Note: The University of Massachusetts McCormack Institute Poll conducted in April 1998 included responses to questions not included in this report. Details about the complete methodology and analysis of questions not reported here are available by contacting Carol Hardy-Fanta, Ph.D., at the McCormack Institute.
Phone: (617) 287-5546.

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS/MCCORMACK INSTITUTE POLL, APRIL 1998

Hello, my name is _____, and I'm calling from _____. Were doing an opinion survey in Massachusetts about various concerns facing the state today. My instructions are to ask to speak to the person in your household who is 18 years of age or older and who had the nearest birthday. [REPEAT INTRODUCTION AS NECESSARY] All your answers are strictly anonymous and confidential.

1. Which of the following best describes your ethnic or racial background?

1. African American or Black
2. Asian American
3. Hispanic or Latino
4. European
5. something else
6. (volunteered) not sure/ don't know

2. What in your opinion is the most important issue facing Massachusetts today? PROMPT: Anything else? RECORD UP TO 3 RESPONSES.

a.

b.

c.

3. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

1. most of the time
2. some of the time
3. only now and then
4. hardly at all
5. not sure/ don't know

4. Next I want to ask your view about several different concerns. First is affirmative action. How much would you say you know about affirmative action, would you say you know a great deal, know quite a bit, or that you know little or nothing?

1. a great deal
2. quite a bit
3. little or nothing
4. not sure/ don't know

5. What do you think government should do about affirmative action, should it increase affirmative action programs, leave affirmative action programs as they are, or decrease affirmative action?

1. increase
2. leave as is
3. decrease
4. no opinion
5. not sure/ don't know

6. And here is a question about business in Massachusetts. From what you know, are state and local taxes on business too high, too low, or about right?

1. too high
2. too low
3. about right
4. no opinion/ don't know

7. Now a couple of questions about the University of Massachusetts. How much would you say you know about the University of Massachusetts, would you say you know a great deal, know quite a bit, know something, or that you know practically nothing about it?

1. great deal
2. quite a bit
3. something
4. nothing
5. no opinion/don't know

8 . How would you rate the overall quality of education provided by the five campuses of the University of Massachusetts system, would you say it's excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?

1. excellent
2. very good
3. good
4. fair
5. poor
6. no opinion/ don't know

9. And a question about immigration: during the next 10 years, should the United States admit more legal immigrants, fewer legal immigrants, or the same number as in the past 10 years?

1. more
2. fewer
3. about the same
4. not sure/ don't know

10. Now I'd like to ask several questions about racial and ethnic diversity. Do you think the increasing racial and ethnic diversity in Massachusetts is a good thing for the state, a bad thing, or that it makes no difference?

1. good thing
2. bad thing
3. makes no difference
4. not sure/ don't know

11. In the past 5 years, would you say that here in Massachusetts conditions for minority groups in general have gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed the same?

1. gotten better
2. gotten worse
3. stayed same
4. no opinions/ not sure/ don't know

12-14. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
REPEAT STEM AS NECESSARY

ROTATE START 12-14.

12. Asian Americans are still a long way from having the same chance in life that white people have.

1. agree
2. disagree
3. neither
4. refused
5. don't know/ not sure

13. African Americans are still a long way from having the same chance in life that white people have.

1. agree
2. disagree
3. neither
4. refused
5. don't know/ not sure

14. Hispanic Americans are still a long way from having the same chance in life that white people have.

1. agree
2. disagree

3. neither
4. refused
5. don't know/ not sure

15. Some people think the government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of minorities. Others think the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves. Which of these two views comes close to your view, or are you somewhere in between?

1. government help
2. help themselves ——————|
3. in between ——————| GO TO 17
4. not sure/ don't know——|

16. Which level of government do you think should be most responsible for improving the economic and social position of minorities, the federal government in Washington or the state government in Boston?

1. federal
2. state
3. VOLUNTEERED: local government
4. VOLUNTEERED: both
5. VOLUNTEERED: neither
6 not sure/ don't know

17. Do you see yourself as a member of an ethnic or racial minority group?

1. yes
2. no ——————| GO TO 20
3. not sure——|

18. In the past year would you say conditions for people from your ethnic or racial group have gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed the same?

1. gotten better
2. gotten worse
3. stayed same
4. no opinions/ not sure/ don't know

19. Do you expect that life for the next generation of Americans like you will be better than for your generation, worse, or about the same as for your generation?

1. better
2. worse
3. about same
4. no opinions/ not sure/ don't know

20. Now I'd like to ask about discrimination; have you had a personal experience of discrimination on the basis of your race, ethnicity, or gender, in the past 3 months?

1. yes
2. no ——————————| GO TO 26-32 SERIES
3. not sure/ don't know———|

IF YES ON Q. 20, ASK 21-24:
21. About how often would you say you experienced discrimination in the past 3 months, would you say READ RESPONSES:

1. very often
2. fairly often
3. rarely,
4, or never?——————————| GO TO 26-32 SERIES
5. not sure/ don't know———|
6. refused

22. Was there discrimination in employment, either on the job or in looking for a job?

1. yes
2. no
3. not sure/ don't know
4. refused

23. Was there discrimination in housing?

1. yes
2. no
3. not sure/ don't know
4. refused

24. Was there discrimination in dealing with the police?

1. yes
2. no
3. not sure/ don't know
4. refused

25. Was there discrimination in everyday life, for example the way people treated you or talked to you?

1. yes
2. no
3. not sure/ don't know
4. refused

26-32. Now I'm going to read you a list of things and ask you to tell me how much confidence you have in each one. First is READ MARKED ITEM, would you say you have a great deal of confidence in ITEM, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence. ROTATE 27-34 LIST

	great deal	only some	hardly any	don't know
26. the news media	1	2	3	4
27. police in your community	1	2	3	4
28. business in your community	1	2	3	4
29. public schools in your community	1	2	3	4
30. the court system	1	2	3	4
31. Massachusetts state government	1	2	3	4
32. the local government in your city or town	1	2	3	4

33. Here are some questions about politics. How effective do you think Paul Cellucci (PROUN: SELL-OO-CHI) has been as Governor, would you say: READ RESPONSES

1. very effective
2. somewhat effective
3. somewhat ineffective
4. or very ineffective
5. VOLUNTEERED: in between
6. VOLUNTEERED: not sure/ don't know

34. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

1. agree
2. disagree
3. VOL: neither
4. not sure/ don't know

35. Now I'd like to ask you about community activities: in the past year have you been involved in any group or organized activity which aims at benefiting your community?

1. yes
2. no
3. not sure/ don't know

36-40. In which of the following political activities did you participate during the past year?

36. volunteered in the election campaign of a political candidate

37. gave money to a candidate's election campaign or political party

38. voted in the Presidential election in 1996

39. voted in your last city or town government election

40. contacted an elected official about a problem or an issue

41. Is your name on the list of registered voters at your city or town hall?

1. yes
2. no ——————————| GO TO 45
3. not sure/ don't know———|

42. The election for Governor is going to be held in November this year. If the election for Governor were held today and the candidates were Republican Acting Governor Paul Cellucci (PROUN: SELL-OO-CHI) and Democrat Attorney General Scott Harshbarger, for whom would you vote?

1. Cellucci
2. Harshbarger
3. undecided/ don't know
4. would not vote

43. Suppose the candidates for Governor were Republican Cellucci and Democrat State Senator Patricia McGovern, (for whom would you vote)?

1. Cellucci
2. McGovern
3. undecided/ don't know
4. would not vote

44. And what if the candidates for Governor were State Treasurer, Republican Joe Malone running against Democrat Scott Harshbarger?

1. Malone
2. Harshbarger
3. undecided/ don't know
4. would not vote

45. Regardless of your voter registration, how would you describe your politics today, would you describe yourself as mostly Democrat, leaning Democrat, completely independent, leaning Republican, or mostly Republican?

1. mostly Democrat
2. leaning Democrat
3. completely independent
4. leaning Republican ——— |
5. mostly Republican ——— |

VOLUNTEERED ONLY: —|

6. Conservative ——— | GO TO 48
7. Natural Law ——— |
8. something else ——— |
9. don't know/ not sure ——— |

46. If the Democratic Party primary election for Governor were held today and the candi dates were Brian Donnelly, Raymond Flynn, Scott Harshbarger, and Patricia McGovern, for whom would you vote?

1. Brian Donnelly
2. Raymond Flynn
3. Scott Harshbarger
4. Patricia McGovern
5. undecided/ don't know
6. would not vote

47. Suppose the Primary election for Attorney General were held today and the candidates were Lois Pines and Thomas Riley, for whom would you vote?

1. Pines
2. Riley
3. undecided/ don't know
4. would not vote

48. And regardless of what political party you favor, in politics today do you think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, or somewhere in between?

1. liberal
2. conservative
3. in between ["independent"]
4. not sure/ don't know

49. Here's a question about public schools: do you think public schools should teach only in English, or do you think in some cases public schools should teach in a language other than English, for example when a student's first language is not English?

1. only English
2. language of pupils
3. not sure/ don't know

50. Now about high schools; do you favor or oppose a standard test for high school graduation, that is, a test that every student would have to pass in order to graduate, or is that something you don't know enough about to say?

1. favor
2. oppose
4. depends
4. don't know enough

51. Now just a few more questions so we can classify your answers. What country, if any, do you identify as home of most of your ancestors?

_____

52. In what year were you born?

_____

53. What is the zip code at this telephone?

_____

54. What is the last grade of school or year of college that you have completed?

1. less than high school
2. high school graduate
3. a two year associates degree
4. some college
5. college graduate
6. post graduate
7. (volunteered) don't know
8. (volunteered) refused

55. Do you own or rent your apartment or house?

1. own
2. rent
3. not sure/ don't know

56. Which of the following best describes your religious preference:
READ RESPONSES

1. Catholic
2. Protestant
3. Jewish
4. another religion
5. or no religious preference
6. (volunteered) some other preference
7. (volunteered) refused
8. (volunteered) not sure/ don't know

57. Were you born in the United States?

1. yes ——————————GO TO 58
2. no ——————————ASK 57
3. refused ——————————GO TO 58
4. not sure/ don't know———ASK 57

58. Are you a citizen of the United States?

1. yes
2. no
3. refused
4. not sure/ don't know

59. And the last question, if you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be:

1. Less than $10,000
2. Between $10,000 and $20,000
3. Between $20,000 and $30,000
4. Between $30,000 and $40,000
5. Between $40,000 and $50,000
6. Between $50,000 and $75,000
7. More than $75,000

DO NOT READ

8. don't know
9. refused

60. GENDER, BY INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION. IF UNSURE, ASK: Are you male or female?

1. male
2. female

That was the last question. Thank you for your help.

GO TO NEXT PAGE
INTERVIEWER:
In what language was this interview conducted?

1. English
2. Spanish
3. Mandarin
4. Cantonese
5. Vietnamese
6. Khmer

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